

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1739

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU UR RO YOUS PINT SHUM
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN MINORITIES POLICY: MAJOR CEAUSESCU SPEECH

REF: BUCCHAREST 1656

1. SUMMARY. IN MAJOR SPEECH TO ASSEMBLY,
HUNGARIAN AND
GERMAN COUNCILS PRINTED IN SCINTEIA MARCH 16, CEAUSESCU TOO
CHARGE OF MINORITY ISSUE FOR GOR, AND MADE ALL BUT CLEAR THAT
INTERNAL SECURITY PERSONNEL CHANGES ANNOUNCED MARCH 8 HEAVILY
MOTIVATED BY MINORITY AGITATION. POLICY LINE IS CHARACTERISTIC
CEAUSESCU BLEND OF CONCESSIONS, MODERATION AND FIRMNESS. AS
ANTICIPATED, HE PRESENTED PROGRAM OF IMPROVEMENTS WITH SPECIAL
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ATTENTION TO MINORITY INTELLIGENTSIA, INVOLVING PLACEMENT
OF GRADUATES IN HOME AREAS, USE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES
IN EDUCATION, BETTER TEACHING MATERIALS AND PERSONNEL, HEALTH
CARE, AND QUALITY AND CONTENT OF ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL MATERIAL
IN MINORITY LANGUAGES. CONTRARY TO OUR EXPECTATION, HOWEVER,
HE DID NOT TAG SUBORDINATES WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR INADE-
QUACIES TO BE REMEDIED; RATHER, HE OFFERED MINORITY MODERATES

BEEFED-UP POLICY ROLE, WHILE CASTIGATING AGITATORS (READ KIRALY) AS WEAKLINGS IN PAY OF FOREIGNERS WHO NOW AS ALWAYS SEEK TO DIVIDE AND RULE ROMANIA. IMPASSIONED LANGUAGE IDENTIFIED THESE FOREIGNERS (CLEARLY IF IMPLICITLY) AS SOVIETS, HUNGARIANS AND AMERICANS (VIA "FOREIGN RADIOS," E.E. INCLUDING RFS), CEAUSESCU THREATENED WEAKLINGS WITH "CONTAMPT THEY DESERVE" AND JOB DEMOTIONS ON KIRALY PATTERN, BUT WITHIN CONTEXT OF STRONG REAFFIRMATION THAT GOR WILL STICK TO "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" AND ESCHEW PERSECUTION AND STALINIST POLICE TERROR VIS-A-VIS MINORITIES. AT STRATEGIC LEVEL, CEAUSESCU REAFFIRMED MAIN THRUST OF GOR APPROACH TO MINORITY ISSUES--INDUSTRIALIZATION AND MODERNIZATION--AND DANGEROUS INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT--TREN TOWARD NEW DIVISION OF WORLD INTO BLOCS, KEEPING ROMANIAN UNDER SIEGE. MESSAGE WE READ IS THT GOR IS WILLING TO WORK PROBLEMS WITH ITS MINORITIES, BUT WILL BROOK NO INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD, INCLUDING U.S., AND WILL LABEL MINORITY AGITATORS FOR EITHER EMIGRATION OR MINORITY RIGHTS AS FOREIGN AGENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ECONOMY AND INTERNAL SECURITY WERE AREAS MOST OBVIOUSLY INVOLVED IN EXTENSIVE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL RESHUFFLE ANNOUNCED MARCH 8. PRELUDE ON ECONOMIC SIDE WAS MAJOR CEAUSESCU SPEECH IN MID-FEBRUARY SIGNALLING SHIFT OF DIRECTION IN POLICY, AND FOLLOWED BY EXTENSIVE PRESS COMMENTARY. ALTHOUGH WE SUSPECTED FOCUS OF INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEMS CALLING FOR STAFF CHANGES WAS MINORITY SITUATION, CHANGES, AS ANNOUNCED, CONFIDENTIAL

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DID NOT MAKE THIS CLEAR. CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH TO JOINT SESSION OF HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN WORKINGMEN'S COUNCILS PRINTED IN SCINTEIA MARCH 16, FOLLOWING ON EXPULSION OF KAROLY KIRALY FROM VICE-PRESIDENCY OF HUNGARIAN UNIT ANNOUNCED PREVIOUS DAY, DOTS THIS PARTICULAR I. SPEECH SHOWS CEAUSESCU TAKING CHARGE OF ANOTHER SERIOUS PROBLEM AREA WITH CHARACTERISTIC BLEND OF CONCESSIONS AND STRICTURES BEFORE SETTING OFF ON SERIES OF IMPORTANT VISITS ABROAD (U.S., COMMUNIST ASIA, UK ARE ON KNOWN AGENDA). IN STRUCTURE AND SUBSTANCE, SPEECH ALSO SHOWS HE INSISTS ON SEEING MINORITY PROBLEM IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT, MAKING IT ALL BUT CERTAIN MARCH 8 INTERNAL SECURITY CHANGES DESIGNED MAINLY TO PROTECT ROMANIAN FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE WITH ITS MINORITIES.

3. ASSUME FBIS WILL CARRY FULL TEXT. AS WE READ IT, SPEECH HAS FOUR MAIN PARTS: PROGRAM OF CONCESSIONS; ATTEMPT TO RALLY MINORITY MODERATES AGAINST EXTREMISTS WHO SUCCUMB TO FOREIGN BLANDISHMENTS (READ KIRALY); REAFFIRMATION OF MAIN LINES OF GOR MINORITY POLICY (INDUSTRIALIZATION, ANTI-EMIGRATION); AND DISPLAY OF INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT WARNIGN USSR, HUNGARY AND WEST INCLUDING U.S. AGAINST TINKERING WITH ROMANIAN

MINORITY SITUATION.

4. AS WE ANTICIPATED (REFTEL), CEAUSESCU CAME FORWARD WITH PROGRAM OF CONCESSIONS, WHICH IN FACT CONSTITUTES FIRST OPERATIVE PORTION OF SPEECH, IN FORM OF CATALOGUE OF "SHORTCOMINGS AND DEFICIENCIES" AND APPROPRIATE REMEDIES. STRESS IS ON BENEFITS TO BURGEONING MINORITY INTELLIGENTSIAS. PROBLEM AREAS, AS HE DEFINED THEM, ARE:
--WORK FOR INTELLECTUALS IN PLACES OF ORIGIN. TOPIC IS MENTIONED TWICE, FIRST UNDER HEADING OF "OUR REVOLUTIONARY POSITION" THAT ALL CITIZENS SHOULD BENEFIT FROM CONQUESTS OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE AND FIND WORK "WITHOUT BEING FORCED TO LEAVE LOCALITY OR COUNTY," AGAIN UNDER NEED TO SEND GRADUATES TO COUNTRIES AND LOCALITIES WHERE THEY KNOW LANGUAGE (WHICH
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COULD ALSO APPLY TO HUNGARIAN-SPECKING ROMANIANS), BUT ESPECIALLY TO "LOCALITIES OF ORIGIN."
--IMPROVED EDUCATION IN MINORITY LANGUAGES, WITH SPECIFICS TO BE ESTABLISHED IN BROAD PUBLIC DEBATE LEADING TO NEW (ALL-NATIONAL) EDUCATION LAW--A RATHER SURPRISING DEVELOPMENT SO SOON AFTER LAST YEAR'S PRONOUNCEMENT OF COMPLETION OF MAJOR (TECHNICAL/VOCATIONAL ORIENTED) EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.
--IMPROVED HEALTH CARE AND MEDICAL EDUCATION, WITH SPECIFICS TO BE ESTABLISHED NOT ONLY IN NEW EDUCATION LAW BUT ALSO IN NEW (AND ALL-NATIONAL) "LAW FOR ASSURING POPULATION'S HEALTH."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1739

--IN EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS, BETTER SCHOOL TEXTS, BETTER
LECTURE CONTENT AND BETTER-EDUCATED AND BETTER-PREPARED
STAFF, FOR MINORITIES AS WELL AS MAJORITY.
--BETTER "CONTEXT" AND ESPECIALLY BETTER "CADRES" IN ARTISTIC
AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND MORE ATTENTION TO POLITICAL

EDUCATION (TO OVERCOME RETROGRADE VIEWS), IN MINORITY LANGUAGES.
NOTING ROMANIA PUBLISHES MORE IN HUNGARIAN THAN IN ROMANIAN
ON PROPORTIONAL BASIS, CEAUSESCU MADE CLEAR HE THINKS PRESENT
QUANTITY SUFFICIENT, AND WAS TALKING ABOUT QUALITY. (HE
ALSO DREW DISTINCTION BETWEEN PARTY CADRES -- WHERE "PROBLEMS
ARE POSED AT A HIGHER LEVEL"--AND OTHERS.)

5. TOPPING OFF PROGRAM OF CONCESSIONS WAS RING REASSURANCE
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THAT "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" WILL APPLY IN MINORITY POLICY.
"SOCIALIST LEGALITY" IS TOW-EDGED SWORD IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES,
SINCE IT CAN ALSO MEAN VIOLATORS OF LAW WILL BE PUNISHED TO
FULL EXTENT IT PROVIDES, BUT CEAUSESCU STRESSED THE REASSUR-
ANCE FACTOR, SINCE HE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED PERSECUTION OF
GERMANS IN IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PERIOD AND STALINIST POLICE
TERROR ("VIOLATIONS OF LEGALITY WHICH TOOK PLACE, AT A CERTAIN
POINT, IN OUR COUNTRY") AS NO-NOS WHICH PARTY HAS PUT BEHIND
IT FOREVER. (IN ROMANIAN POLITICAL THEORY, SOVIETS WERE OF
COURSE RESPONSIBLE FOR BOTH.)

6. CONTRARY TO WHAT WE ANTICIPATED, CEAUSESCU DID NOT COUPLE
(AT LEAST IN PUBLISHED TEXT -- APPEARANCE OF WHICH WAS
DELAYED ONE DAY -- REFTEL) THIS PROGRAM OF CONCESSIONS
WITH ATTACKS ON LOWER AND LOCAL OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE
FOR "SHORTCOMINGS AND DEFICIENCIES." RATHER, HE TOOK
TACT THAT AS SHIP OF STATE PLOWS FORWARD TOWARD MODERN,
INDUSTRIALIZED CONDITION WHERE HARMONY OF ROMANIAN NATIONALI-
TIES WILL BE ASSURED, SOME FEW (READ KIRALY) CANNOT KEEP
PACE, AND SUCCUMB TO BLANDISHMENTS OF FOREIGNERS.

7. NATIONALITY DIFFERENCES IN ROMANIA HAVE ALWAYS BEEN
USED BY "REACTIONARY CIRCLES" AT HOME AND ABROAD

TO SPLIT AND SUBJUGATE ROMANIANS, CAUSESCU INSISTED, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO "FORMER EMPIRES, THE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM." HOME REACTIONARIES HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED -- THE ONLY LIBERTY OF WHICH PEOPLE ARE DEPRIVED IN ROMANIA IS THE LIBERTY TO EXPLOIT OTHERS -- BUT FOREIGNERS ARE STILL AT IT: RACISM, ANTISEMITISM, NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM OF ANY KIND " ARE INSTRUMENTS REACTIONARY CIRCLES USE TODAY AS WELL TO SOW DISSENTION AND RAISE OBSTACLES TO BUILDING OF SOCIALISM, PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION."

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8. LANGUAGE ON NATIONAL TREACHERY REACHED RELIGIOUS HEIGHTS, AND TOUCHED SOVIETS, HUNGARY AND WEST, INCLUDING U.S. CEAUSESCU RETURNED TO APRIL 1977 LINE AGAINST EMIGRATION. "WE" WILL NEVER ENCOURAGE TENDENCIES OR, EVEN WORSE, ACTIVITIES FROM ABROAD TO MAKE GERMANS OR MEMBERS OF OTHER NATIONALITIES LEAVE FATHERLAND. THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HUMANITARIANISM. WE NEED TO UNMASK AND FIRMLY REJECT " THESE ACTIVITIES OF REACTIONARY CIRCLES, OF FOREIGN PRESS AND RADIO STATIONS (PRESUMABLY INCLUDING RFE). PLACE OF ROMANIAN CITIZENS IS HERE, BUILDING NEW ORDER. IT IS NATURAL THAT SOME FALL BY WAYSIDE ALONG PATH TO COMMUNISM, BUT THERE ARE WORST CASES IN THIS SORRY NATURAL CATEGORY: "ELEMENTS WEAK BY NATURE OR MORALLY DECOMPOSED WHO PUT THEMSELVES IN SERVICE OF FOREIGN CIRCLES FOR TWO PIECES OF GOLD AND TWO OF SILVER (READ THE WEST), FOR A MESS OF POTTAGE OR OF GOULASH (READ SOVIETS AND HUNGARIANS TOGETHER). IN MARCH 17 MEETING, PARTY THEORETICAL JOURNAL ERA SOCIALISTA DEPUTY EDITOR MITRAN TOLD DCM "THOSE WHO ARE INTERFERING" LIKE GOULASH; HE HAD HAD IT IN BUDAPEST AND LIKED IT TOO; YOU CAN ALSO GET IT IN MOSCOW. SUCH MEN, WHATEVER THEIR NATIONALITY, "HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH OUR SOCIETY."

9. DESPITE SEVERITY OF CONDEMNATION, HOWEVER, CEAUSESCU KEPT WITHIN PROMISE OF "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" IN DESCRIBING SANCTIONS FOR THESE WORST CHASES. MAIN REMEDY WOULD BE EDUCATION. BEYOND THAT, THEY WILL BE TREATED "WITH ALL THE CONTEMPT THEY DESERVE," AND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES, THEY CAN EXPECT TO RECEIVE NO MORE THAN THEIR WORK WARRANTS. (KIRALY IS APPARENTLY NOW A FACTORY MANAGER, EITHER AT TIMISOARA OR CARANSEBES.)

10. THIRD MAJOR FACET OF SPEECH WAS MEASURED REAFFIRMATION OF MAIN LINES OF GOR NATIONALITIES POLICY. PROCESS OF BRINGING NATIONALITIES TOGETHER IN ROMANIA IS LONG TERM IN CHARACTER, INEXORABLE, DIALECTICAL. IT IS RESULT

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OF MODERNIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS ON NATIONAL SCALE, WHICH WILL CONTINUE (WITH "MECHANIZATION AND AUTOMATIZATION"), AND IT CANNOT BE HELD BACK. (WE SUSPECT REFERENFES ARE BOTH TO JIU VALLEY, WITH HEAVILY HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN WORK FORCE, WHERE MECHANIZATION AND AUTOMATIZATION CONSTITUTE MAJOR REGIME GOAL, AND TO HUNGARIAN POET GYULA ILLYES' DECEMBER COMPLAINTS ABOUT DISSOLUTION OF TQD "HUNGARIAN PERSONALITY" IN MODERNIZATION PROCESS.) NEVERTHELESS, CEAUWESCU WENT ON, MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL FACTORS OBVIOUSLY INTERACT AND POLICY WILL STRESS EDUCATION AND CULTURE AS MUCH AS BUILDING OF MATERIAL BASE. THERE IS MUCH TO BE DONE, AND MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES-- HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN WORKINGMEN'S COUNCILS TO WHOM HE SPOKE--HAVE A LARGER ROLE FOR THE TAKING, ALONGSIDE PARTY AND STATE ORGANS. RE LANGUAGE CAPABILITY, HOWEVER, HE WAS FIRM: IN MODERNIZATION PROCESS, COMPULSORY KNOWLEDGE

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OF ROMANIAN LANGUAGE BY ALL ROMANIAN CITIZENS IS AN OBJECTIVE REQUIREMENT, LIKE REQUIREMENT THAT ALL ROMANIANS, AS CITIZENS OF SMALL COUNTRY, MUST KNOW AT LEAST TWO INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES IF COUNTRY IS TO OPERATE IN COMPLEX TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF MODERN TIMES.

11. FINALLY, IN CONCLUDING PORTION, CEAUSESCU SET FORTH INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK: MOUNTING DANGER OF NEW DIVISION OF WORLD INTO BLOCS. SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED SINCE HE DREW ATTENTION TO TENDENCIES IN THIS DIRECTION AT DECEMBER NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE, CEAUSESCU SAID, AND ALTHOUGH MARCH 22 CC PLENUM WILL "PROBABLY" DISCUSS
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THESE TENDENCIES, IT IS ALREADY TRUE THAT SITUATION IS "MORE GRAVE" THAN IN DECEMBER. AS EVIDENCE, HE CITED "UNSATISFACTORY RESULTS" OF BELGRADE MEETING AND "CERTAIN LITIGIOUS QUESTIONS" REQUIRING URGENT SOLUTION, WITH SPECIFIC MENTION OF CYPRUS.

12. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH SPEECH IS BETTER ORGANIZED THAN MOST, AND INCLUDES UNUSUALLY IMPASSIONED LANGUAGE, BLEND OF CONCESSIONS, MODERATION AND FIRMNESS IS VINTAGE CEAUSESCU. MESSAGE, AS WE READ IT, IS THAT GOR IS WILLING TO WORK MINORITY PROBLEMS WITH ITS MINORITIES, BUT WILL BROOK NO INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD-- NATIONALITY PROBLEMS ARE AFFAIR OF ALL ROMANIANS, HE SAID, AND "WE" WILL PERMIT NO ONE TO INTERFERE IN OUR AFFAIRS -- AND WILL LABEL AGITATORS LIKE KIRALY AS FOREIGN AGENTS, IN PAY OF SOVIETS, HUNGARIANS, AMERICANS OR OTHER "IMPERIALISTS." ROMANIA IS STILL UNDER SIEGE, AND WITH CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN WORLD THREATENING TO REAWAKEN EAST-WEST TENSIONS, CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL SELF-DEFENSE ARE IN FACT WORSE THAN BEFORE.
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